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# "RED PAPERS" OF MEXICO

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AN EXPOSÉ OF THE GREAT CIENTIFICO CONSPIRACY  
TO ELIMINATE DON VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE IMBROGLIO  
BETWEEN CARRANZA AND VILLA

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# "RED PAPERS OF MEXICO"

## An Exposé of the Great Científico Conspiracy to Eliminate Don Venustiano Carranza.

A year and a half ago the Constitutionalists under the leadership of Don Venustiano Carranza challenged the dictatorship of Huerta.

The victories on the battlefield against the Mexican fedrals created among the constitutionalists strong personalities and new ambitions.

While the soldiers were fighting with sword and rifles the diplomats were pulling the wires behind the scenes. In Paris, London, Washington and New York there were rich, experienced and practical gentlemen who were conspiring to use for their own end the forces which had been unchained by the revolution. A tremendous battle of money, influence, strategy and wits was pitted against a struggle of principle, integrity and faith.

With Huerta's rise to power a number of members of this cabinet were exiled, men like F. de la Barra, ex-provisional President, General Mondragon, Rodolfo Reyes, ex-cabinet member, and Felix Diaz, the wandering general who never fought a battle, the patriot who lost his uncle.

In Paris these gentlemen found other exiles to keep them company and plot their return to power. José Y. Limantour, ex-Finance Minister, J. Casasus, ex-Ambassador, were among the ablest of the científico exiles. The former ex-Minister is the brain which directs and pulls the strings for the purpose of getting some of the científicos in any cabinet under any old president in Mexico. Under de la Barra's provisional presidency three-fourths of the cabinet members were "neo-científicos," that is to say, ministers whose interests were the same as the Limantour científico party, but with more up-to-date methods. The name of "científico" in Mexico is a synonym for scientific, unscrupulous grafted.

In New York there arrived rich men like Ignacio Noriega, ex-silent partner of Gen. Porfirio Diaz; Gen. F. Gonzalez, ex-Governor under Diaz, Manuel Calero, ex-member of the Madero Cabinet; José Castellot, ex-Senator under Diaz and also representative of Huerta and Carbajal in Washington; Oscar Braniff, rich Mexican landowner; Francisco Madero, Ernesto Madero,

Adolfo Madero, Rafael Hernandez, and the whole family of the Maderos, which according to reports counted up to one hundred and forty members.

Other ex-cabinet members were T. Ezquibel Obregon, Dr. Urrutia, the surgeon-executioner of Huerta; Querido Moheno, ex-Minister; General Maas, Fco Carbajal, ex-provisional president; Gen. Juencio Robles, Razgado, the Terrazas, the Creels, F. Gamboa, to say nothing of the lesser fry.

These exiles were scattered from New York to Washington, from New Orleans to El Paso, but their headquarters were in New York. They did not all come at once to the United States, but in dribbles and bunches according to the turn of the political wheel. Some are called porfiristas, huertistas, "científicos," felicistas; others, the maderistas, are divided between "neo-científicos" and villistas; but they are all of one stripe; they are without exception reactionaries who are only interested in their lands, money and political power; they are the enemies of the Mexican liberals, hostile to the Mexican Constitution. They do not all work together, but they travel on the same road. With the exception of Gen. Mondragon, Gen. Felix Diaz, Rodolfo Reyes and Dr. Urrutia, they are all "científicos" with a dash of clericalism. Their methods of procedure are the same; the identical, fine Italian hand is seen through their plots.

When F. I. Madero had taken Juarez from Gen. Navarro, the "científicos" sent able men with fat purses and clever tongues to use the simple minded Orozco and Villa to eliminate, F. I. Madero, who would have been killed by the rebel soldiers under their orders if it had not been for his bravery. Orozco was later corrupted by money furnished by the Terrazas, and started a revolution against his former chief. Villa begged F. I. Madero's pardon and promised to be loyal to the end. Villa kept his word.

Later the huertistas and científicos and some militarists attempted to use Zapata in a plot to kill Madero. Zapata saw through it and the

treachery was frustrated. When the European and American exiles from Mexico observed the events which pointed to a future Constitutional list victory, they sent agents to Carranza, to Gen. Obregon, to Gen. Gonzalez and to Gen. Villa to discover which of those men were more likely to be influenced by money, personal ambition, or other motives. The reports were unfavorable, with the exception of Villa. The other chiefs were men of culture, breeding and political experience. Most Constitutional list chiefs were of the opinion that all reactionary elements, like the *científicos*, should be eliminated. They understood that as F. I. Madero had been sacrificed as a martyr to Mexican liberty, his name would be inscribed in the scroll of fame.

But the Madero family, from Francisco Madero down had no claim to Mexican gratitude in the shape of political power. Therefore they frowned upon the attempts of the Madero clan to get in "on the ground floor" of the successful revolution. Thereupon all the "*científicos*" turned their efforts upon the brave, loyal and talented but fiery tempered, illiterate and politically inexperienced Villa.

Day by day, week by week, month after month agents were with Villa's army as camp followers, officers, friends and admirers, as newspaper correspondents, to work on the impressionable general. His vanity was tickled, his patriotism was excited, his personality, his military achievements were exaggerated, his importance in the revolution was magnified until he began to think that he was inspired to lead the Mexican people. While this was going on the "*científicos*" spent thousands of dollars for fiction and magazine writers to pen biographies wherein the past life of Villa was described in a romantic fashion to palliate his youthful peccadilloes and magnify his victories. Even Huerta had secret agents with Villa to try and break him away from the leadership of Carranza. In his last message Huerta spoke of the division among the revolutionaries—he meant Villa but at that time Villa was not ripe for a break and his declaration was premature. The *científicos*, neo-*científicos* and so-called maderistas continued the efforts to undermine the loyalty of Villa.

It was evident that Pancho Villa would not ally himself, even if he should quarrel with Carranza, with the reactionary powers, which had been fighting for Diaz, de la Barra, Huerta, Carbajal. The intention of the press agents was to make the personality of Villa so dominant in the minds of Americans and Mexicans that al-

though Villa could not hope to be President, he might be nevertheless a president maker, the balance of power, the man behind the throne in Mexico.

The agents poured out day after day stories about Carranza, about his faults, but never his virtues. They told Villa that Carranza was an aristocrat, a great landowner who would never settle the land question, an ambitious man who wanted to become dictator, a pretentious scholar who laughed at Villa's ignorance.

Reed in an article speaks of Villa's loyalty to Carranza in the beginning of the revolution. "His loyalty to Carranza was perfectly obstinate. He seems to think that in Carranza were embodied the entire ideals of the revolution, this in spite of the fact that many of his advisers tried to make him see that Carranza was essentially an aristocrat and a reformer and that the people were fighting for more than reform."

The work of the Villa advisers was slowly bearing fruit; the untrained mind of the strong willed condottiere was undermined systematically with every known and unknown machiavellian device; his intelligence was being trained to become a useful tool for higher unscrupulous, aristocratic masters.

Excuses for difference between Carranza and Villa were easily found and magnified until Villa began to believe that Carranza was jealous of him and his power, his talent and his honesty. Carranza appeared in the plastic mind of the military leader very much blacker than he was painted. The Chief of the Revolution's name to Villa had the same effect on him as a red rag to a bull.

Villa began to believe that he was persecuted by the Supreme Chief.

It is easy to understand that in such a suspicious, tense, state of mind, filled with imaginary grievances, one more drop of subtle, calumnious poison was sufficient to overflow the cup of bitterness.

It was intended that Villa should quarrel with the Chief of the Revolution, disown him and if necessary fight him, but at all events no matter by what methods, he was to be eliminated. Then Villa would control the Convention of Generals and Governors. He would dictate the name of the provisional President and later of the President.

He would be the Czar of Mexican politics with the string being pulled from Paris and New York. He was to be a Czar of Mexico without office, but with real power in his hands;

a second Simon Bolivar, who would refuse the crown of an empire.

When Villa had done his work and the scientific tool was in the presidential chair, then Villa himself would be eliminated gently if possible, by force if necessary.

What has not been taken into account is that things may not turn out as they were originally planned, and that even if Villa can be deceived for a while, there may come a time when he will

discover how he has been used as a lever for men politically cleverer than he is. The settlement of the land question will turn the comedy into a tragedy for the científicos.

When Villa awakens from his trance, all his patriotism, his honesty, his sense of justice will change into a wave of disgust, indignation and rage.

Then woe to the conspirators near and far! Meanwhile events will have to run their course.

## The Inside History of the Break between Don Venustiano Carranza and General Villa.

Apart from the first differences occurring between Mr. Carranza and General Villa through the deaths of Benton and Bauche events that only took place during the revolution in territory under the dominion of the forces of General Villa, there have been provoked the two following serious schisms:

### FIRST.

General Villa, like all the Constitutionalists officials, expressly recognized the leadership of Mr. Carranza and took orders from him. Frequently Mr. Carranza ordered a certain head or official of some particular division to assist another who was engaged in battle. On various occasions he assigned aid to General Villa when the latter was going into action with his men.

On the 9th of June, Generals Natera and Arrieta attacked the city of Zacatecas occupied by Huertista forces. The outposts of the city had already been taken, but on carrying an assault against the principal fortifications they encountered more resistance, for the enemy had received reinforcements. Then Mr. Carranza ordered General Villa, who was the chief nearest to Zacatecas, to send 5,000 men to Natera's assistance. General Villa refused to send these reinforcements, pretending first that the roadway was cut off, and afterward said that General Robles under whose command the reinforcements were to be sent was ill, and in conclusion declared that he would render assistance to Zacatecas only if he marched at the head of his division; otherwise he would resign from the command. Mr. Carranza answered Villa to the effect that his resignation was neither necessary nor convenient, and that he was to send aid to General Natera who had already commenced action. Villa replied that he had determined to resign and that he thereby left the command of

the northern division. Mr. Carranza accepted the resignation.

The officials under the direction of Villa favored his decision and backed him up, but he continued in command of his division notwithstanding his resignation.

Villa did not only in this instance deprive a companion at arms of aid and disobey Carranza whom he recognized as his Chief, but he ordered the capture of the general treasurer and of other civil officials who depended on General Carranza, and also took possession of the funds in the Treasury.

### SECOND.

Because of the hostile attitude toward General Carranza of José Ma. Maytorena in Sonora, with a force of 1,500 Yaquis, Mr. Carranza, always guided by the idea of establishing harmony among the Constitutionalists and of giving a proof of confidence to General Villa, fully authorized him and General Obregón to attempt a pacific arrangement with Maytorena, avoiding any clashes with the forces in that State commanded by Col. Plutarco Elias Calles, and to keep them faithful to Carranza.

It was agreed between the aforementioned Generals Obregón and Villa and Maytorena that the last should lay aside his hostile attitude and remain as the Governor of the State of Sonora and military commander; that he might recognize as chief of military jurisdiction, General Obregón in his character of Commandant of the Northwestern Division and that Col. Calles should retire from the State of Sonora.

Mr. Carranza not only fulfilled his promise by relieving the commander of the forces and taking him out of Sonora, but he placed these forces under the command of General Hill, a personal friend of Maytorena. But General Hill

Maytorena

did not live up to the agreement, for not only did he disclaim the authority of Obregon, but even caused his subordinates to insult him. This decided the Generals Villa and Obregon to nullify the pact with Maytorena, and Villa to threaten to fight him if he continued his belligerent attitude.

General Villa did not carry out this last resolution without deceiving General Hill. He ordered him according to an agreement between himself, Villa and General Obregon to leave Sonora and penetrate to the interior of Chihuahua. As General Hill answered him that he would obey no other orders than those of his immediate chief, General Obregon, General Villa in place of fighting Maytorena, as he had offered to do, desired to send forces from Chihuahua to Sonora to fight Hill, in league with Maytorena.

These last actions of General Villa determined General Obregon to make a trip to Chihuahua, to hold a friendly conference there. General Villa finding Obregon defenceless compelled him with the threat of shooting him without court-martial to order Hill to get out of Sonora.

The unjustifiable imprisonment of Obregon executed by General Villa, the order given by him to shoot Obregon without court-martial, the conduct of General Villa himself in the confidential commission which Mr. Carranza conferred upon him to settle peacefully the difficulties in the State of Sonora, and lastly the intention of invading this state with armed forces to assist Maytorena against the troops of Carranza, all these acts were consummated without Mr. Carranza's knowledge and revealed too clearly the future conduct of Villa, caused Mr. Carranza to take precautionary measures of defence, among which was the suspension of railway traffic north of Aguascalientes.

This order to suspend traffic was the pretext taken by Villa to assume a really rebellious attitude, for he addressed an insolent telegram to the first Chief, calling him to account for such a step, and almost ordering him to annul the measure; and as Mr. Carranza manifested before answering his telegram that he desired to know the conduct which he, Villa, had observed toward General Obregon, Villa without answering nor justifying himself declared that the northern division would not be present at the convention summoned by Carranza for the 1st of October, and that he disclaimed him as Chief of the Constitutionalist Army.

A few days before this last occurrence, Mr. Carranza conferred on Villa the rank of Division General.

#### THE PACT OF TORREON.

The first incident provoked by General Villa, of disobeying the order to help Natera, which action greatly relaxed the discipline of the Constitutionalist forces, gave rise to what is called the pact of Torreon.

General Pablo Gonzalez and the other leaders of the northeastern division, wishing to establish concord with the forces of Villa, invited the chiefs of these forces to send delegates so that through peaceful conferences a way might be resolved for smoothing the friction occasioned by the disobedience of Villa. He and his generals accepted the invitation.

In these conferences, consummated only between representatives of the forces of General Gonzalez and those of General Villa, all the amendments proposed to the plan of Guadalupe were renounced, according to the acts of the conclaves, subscribed to by the delegates and secretaries who attended them.

General Carranza conceded again to recognize Villa as chief of the northern division, and this division reiterated to Carranza its recognition of him as the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army.

The only measure adopted in the conferences of Torreon and that had to be submitted to Mr. Carranza for his approval was the following: "As soon as the revolution shall have triumphed there is to be called a convention which will take place in Mexico City, with the object of deciding when the elections of the Republic are to be held. This convention will be composed of one delegate for each 1,000 soldiers under arms. The delegate is to be elected by a committee of military chiefs, and his election approved by the commandants of the respective divisions."

Mr. Carranza did not approve but modified the foregoing proposition in the sense that the delegates to the convention might be named, one by each general or Governor of a State or military chief in command of forces when these might not be able to meet.

It is absurd to believe, as the American press believes, that the rebellious attitude of General Villa is owing to a failure on the part of Carranza to comply with the agreement celebrated in Torreon, in respect to the form of holding the convention. Mr. Carranza did not accept the proposition which the officials of General Gonzalez and General Villa agreed to submit for his approval. But aside from this, it is absurd to believe that Villa would have an advantage if the convention might be formed

with a delegate for each 1,000 soldiers carrying arms, it being supposed that the forces under Carranza amounted to 101,000 men, and those under Villa only amounted to 24,000.

The proposition presented by Villa to form the convention, a proposition which leaves definitely the nomination of the delegate to the military commander of each division; can hardly be called democratic, and as there only exist four divisions, all the delegates would be named by only four persons; while the form adopted by Carranza has more amplitude, because each general, each Governor and each chief in command of troops can meet at the convention or name a delegate.

To sum up, it is untrue to assert that the hostile attitude of Villa toward Carranza is justified because Carranza did not carry out what he had agreed upon. Carranza did not agree to the nomination of a delegate for every 1,000 men, nor is it true that Villa would have control of the convention if it should be formed in this manner.

#### FORMER PROPOSITIONS OF VILLA.

Carranza, satisfying his own wishes and the wishes of the Constitutional leaders, summoned the convention for October, notwithstanding the fact that he cannot say the revolution has completely triumphed. This convention will be vested with the most ample authority, the designation of a provisional government, and will map out the plans for the establishment of a constitutional government. General Villa had agreed that the northern division under his command should be present at the convention through the medium of representatives chosen in the form adopted by Mr. Carranza, it being understood that in accordance with his telegram addressed to Mr. Carranza, he had already sent his delegates whom he ordered to return when they arrived in the city of Torreon.

The following propositions also furnish proof of his acceptance, said propositions having been submitted to Mr. Carranza in company with General Obregon, at the beginning of the present month, and that Mr. Carranza accepted the same with the understanding that they might be in harmony with the wishes of the convention.

First:—The First Chief of the Constitutional Army will assume from now on the title of Provisional President of the Republic, and will add ministers to his Cabinet.

Second:—As soon as the Cabinet of the Provisional President will be formed, in accordance

with his Ministers, he will proceed to appoint temporarily the persons who may discharge the duties of Magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice.

He will name also the other judicial authorities of the Federation belonging to the District and to the Territories.

Third:—The Constitutional or military Governors of the States, in accordance with the municipalities which may be in the respective capitals, will designate the persons who may fill the positions in the Upper Courts, temporarily, and the Judges of the Primary Court of Claims and Inferior Judges.

Fourth:—The Governors of States, the Governor of the District, and the Political heads of the Territories will call elections of the Municipalities, as soon as the judicial authorities have been appointed. The elections will be held the same month that the council convenes, and within eight days after said elections may have been held the citizens appointed will come together to establish themselves in the Electoral College, to qualify the elections, and the day afterward the respective Council will be installed.

Fifth:—As soon as the Councils are established, the Provisional President of the Republic and the Constitutional or Military Governors of the States, will call elections, the first for representatives to the Congress of the Union, and the second for Constitutional Governor, Deputies to the Local Legislature and Magistrates to the Superior Courts, in the cases in which the constitution of the State may provide that in this manner these last may be chosen.

These elections will be held precisely one month after the call for them may have been issued, and will serve as a basis for the electoral division of the last election which may have taken place before the 18th of February, 1913.

Sixth:—The Federal Cabinets and the State Legislatures having been installed, the first in extraordinary sessions will busy itself preferably in the study of the following constitutional reforms, which the Temporary President will propose:

A:—Suppression of the Vice-Presidency of the Republic, and manner of filling the temporary or absolute absence of the President.

B:—To modify the length of time during which the President of the Republic shall discharge his duties.

C:—The organization of the Supreme Court of Justice and the manner of procedure regarding the designation of its officers.

D:—The declaration of inability on the part

of all the leaders who form a portion of the new national army to discharge the duties of President of the Republic, Governors of State and the rest of the positions of popular election, if they shall not have left said positions for at least six months before becoming candidates for the Presidential chair.

The constitutional reforms having been approved by the Federal Cabinets, the Legislatures of State, also of preference, and in extraordinary sessions if they have been held, the expressed reforms shall be discussed.

Seventh:—Immediately upon the result of the relative discussion of the constitutional reforms being known, the Provisional President shall issue a call for the elections of a Constitutional President, and for the appointing of the Magi-

strates of the Court under the conditions established by the Political Constitution of the Republic.

Eighth:—The citizens who may have discharged duties temporarily at the time of the triumph of the revolution, nor those who have held office from the date of the call up to the moment of election, may be eligible for President of the Republic, nor for Governors of States.

Ninth:—The temporary Governors of the States as soon as they assume control shall name a council which shall reside in the capital of the State, and will be composed of a Representative for each district, with a view to studying the agrarian problem and to form a plan which will be sent to the State Congress for its legal sanction.

## Carranza's Defense of his Course.

(TELEGRAMS)

Mexico City, September 28th, 1914. Via Laredo.

The Government relies upon one hundred thousand men to preserve the peace of the Republic.

The treaty agreed to at Torreon between the Northern Division and the Corps of the North-east Army is in no way valid, for it has never received my approval. I judged it of the utmost importance to call a meeting the first of October with the object of discussing and agreeing to a program for the Provisional Government, to fix the date of elections to study and resolve questions of general interest and even provisional government, I being disposed to deliver over the said charge if the majority of the assembly so desire.

The notices relative to the downfall and imprisonment of Gonzalez are entirely untrue. for the said division has fought the Zapatistas with success, destroying them on every side and causing them up to the present time the loss of more than two thousand men. I repeat that I have not failed to live up to any compact, but on the contrary Villa and Maytorena failed in their compact celebrated for the purpose of the

pretended solution of the difficulties in Sonora, for which some days ago Generals Obregon and Villa were commissioned.

Constitutionalist generals attempted to solve the conflict peaceably, and for that purpose a commission went out headed by General Obregon with destination at Zacatecas to hold a conference with Generals Aguirre Benavides and Robles of the Villa Division. The railway and telegraphic communications between Mexico and Vera Cruz are preserved intact and General Aguilar remains faithful to the First Magistracy. He, like other Constitutionalist generals in the south, fight the reactionary forces of Argumedo and Aguilar that find it necessary to enconce themselves in small groups in the mountains. General Obregon remains faithful to the government, with all the confidence of the First Magistracy.

FOR NO MATTER WHAT MY SITUATION AS A LAND-OWNER MIGHT BE, THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM SUCH AS IT IS MUST BE SETTLED WITHOUT CONSIDERATION OF ANY KIND.

(Signed) V. CARRANZA.

## The Great Strength of Don Venustiano Carranza.

Mexico City, September 28th, 1914.

The northern division commands barely THIRTY THOUSAND MEN, the majority

soldiers. The Constitutionalist forces, apart from those faithful to the cause, in the same northern division and under the First Magis-

tracy, may be estimated at ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND.

Zapatism does not possess the importance attributed to it by the enemy, for besides the fact of its relying on small forces and scanty supplies, I esteem it an easy matter to define its real attitude, which is principally due to the labor of intrigue consummated by the bad element surrounding Zapata, WHOSE DEMANDS IN SUBSTANCE ARE THE SAME AS THOSE OF CONSTITUTIONALISM.

A proof of the work of those elements are the last propositions presented by Chief Villa to this Government, in every way contrary to the revolutionary spirit.

With a desire to avoid at any risk an unnecessary conflict, I permitted some Chiefs who were actually in this place to go to the Northern Division and invite them to state their attitude.

There has also been formed a commission of generals with a view to attempting to hold a conference at Zacatecas, at which will concur some of the chiefs of the Northern Division, to discuss in their assembly at the convention which I have called all the matters pertaining to the revolution, and where it is hoped that final settlements may be arrived at which may definitely realize the triumph of the cause which we have been defending.

(Signed) V. CARRANZA

## The Correspondence between Carranza and Generals of the Northern Division.

Mexico City, Sept. 29, 1914. Via Galveston.

The following messages were exchanged between this First Magistracy and the Generals of the Northern Division, which they sign "Chihuahua, Chih., Sept. 27th, 1914.

Hon Venustiano Carranza, First Chief of the Constitutional Army, in Charge of the Executive Authority, Mexico, D. F. Honored Sir:—The generals, chiefs, and officials of the Northern Division and the civilians who subscribe to this paper, sincerely moved by a patriotic attitude and worthy of the greatest admiration that our brothers of other divisions have assumed, the Generals Ignacio L. Pesqueira, Lucio Blanco, Eduardo Hay, Rafael Buelna, and Juan C. Medina, with a view to putting to one side all selfish interests and petty differences so that we may save the Republic in the deep and dolorous peril in which she is at present plunged, address you for the purpose of manifesting that it is not in vain that our dear companions of other divisions invoke our sentiments of dignity, and our conscience of the honor and most just affection which we harbor for the country which is our sad and holy mother. We cherish the greatest ambition that the regenerative work of the constitutionalist revolution may not crumble; and we encourage the great illusion that the sacrifices of our brothers who died heroically on the field of battle in defense of the holy ideals of liberty and justice may not be unfruitful.

Like our said brothers we wish to make every effort that owing to these circumstances in which we are unfortunately placed, the enemy may not

take advantage of the cause of liberty, for they do not stop at any measure which might steep the republic in blood.

Equally, we will make every effort and every sacrifice before sentencing our country to the dark danger of foreign intervention, and that only the failure of all these noble hopes, and of all these generous efforts will carry us to the fratricidal struggle to which we would go only because duty would compel us to do so, though with a heart full of pain and sadness for the national misfortunes.

By reason of the foregoing and cherishing the intimate conviction that you will know how to place yourself at the height of circumstances, that you will understand how to be inspired by the noble example of all true patriots, of those who have fallen gloriously defending the liberty and honor of our soil, that in your good Mexican soul there will be room for noble sentiments and generous efforts, we come to ask you in one sublime act to save the Republic from the chaos which it may come to through the faults and rashness of all.

General Villa has telegraphed to our loved companions that he will cease the hostile attitude of the northern division if you in a burst of patriotism and unselfishness may deliver the supreme command to the incorruptible liberal Fernando Iglesias Calderon, who by reason of his talent, energy and clean record will be a surety for the revolution, because he will understand how to carry the Republic through the path of honor and will never prove a traitor to

the ideals of the democratic cause.

General Villa has categorically declared that all this division will firmly support Mr. Iglesias, and is a high example of civism and disinterest has confessed openly that none of his chiefs aspire to the presidency or vice-presidency, neither pro tempore nor constitutionally.

These declarations, honorable First Chief, powerfully reveal that this division is resolved to sacrifice everything on the altars of our country and that we are not guided by petty or low ambitions. We warmly exhort you to turn a deaf ear to the counsels of the ambitious and put aside every sentiment of pride and of bad counsel, and self-love, and leave the supreme command of the Republic with a view to saving her from the dangers which pride and obstinacy may carry her.

That magnanimous and laudable attitude will be the base for the salvation and aggrandizement of the Republic and will raise you to the level of the most noble, leaving to the generations of the future a luminous and beautiful example of disinterest and patriotism.

General Eugenio Aguirre Benavides, Gral. J. Isabel Robles, Gral. Mariano Garcia, General Manuel Chao, Gral. Orestes Pereyra, Gral. Martiniano Servin, Gral. Calixto Contreras, Severiano Cisneros, Gral. Rosalio C. Hernandez, Gral. José V. Rodriguez, Coronel Santiago Ramirez, Gral. Isaac Arroyo, Gral. Felipe Angeles, Gral. Raul Madero, Coronel Manuel Medinaeitia, Tte. Coronel E. Santos Coy, Dr. Miguel Silva, Lic. Federico Gonzalez Garza, Lic. Miguel Diaz Lombardo, Juan H. Uribe, Dr. A. Castellanos, Silvestre Terrazas, Coronel Rodolfo L. Fierros, General Fidel L. Avila and Enrique Perez Rul.

#### THE ANSWER OF CARRANZA.

"Generals Eugenio Aguirre Benavides, José Isabel Robles, Mariano Garcia, Manuel Chao, Orestes Pereyra, Martiniano Servin, Calixto Contreras, Severiano Cisneros, Rosalio Hernandez, José V. Rodriguez and other signers. Chihuahua, Chih.

I refer to your message under date of the 27th instant in which you set forth your desire that I may leave the First Magistracy of the Constitutional Army and the charge of the Authority of the Nation to avoid the armed conflict which may be provoked by reason of the disobedience of General Francisco Villa, delivering that First Magistracy and that charge to C. Fernando Iglesias Calderon.

I have no other wish than to leave as soon as

possible the two high positions that the armed people of the Republic have entrusted me with upon aiding the Plan de Guadalupe of the 26th of March, 1913, proclaimed and sustained by the first Chiefs who accompanied me in the struggle, which happily has caused the downfall of the dictatorship created in this city in consequence of a military union and of the unfaithfulness of the federal army in charge of suppressing it; but owing to the fact that the trust which Constitutionalism has placed in my hands is so sacred, on my retirement I believe it my unrescindable duty to place the same in the hands of those who have conferred it on me, who are necessarily the superior Chiefs of the Constitutional army, between whom, honorably, are to be found the Chiefs whom I address.

With this object and with the object that there may be discussed and settled all subjects of public interest, I called the convention which must be held the first of October next, to all the generals in command of the Constitutional army and Governors of the States, who will have to appoint the new depositary of the high commission in which I am vested.

If upon holding that convention any of the chiefs should be absent who ought to take part in the same, the convention itself will have power to summon them to the conference, each separately or through the medium of representatives.

As the petition to which I refer originates in the undisciplined action and disobedience of General Villa in failing to recognize me as First Chief of the Constitutional Army and in charge of the Executive authority, I judge that to work with the greatest impartiality, although I do not know whether you may have lent your influence with General Villa himself to turn him to execute his duty, they ought to have petitioned before that the aforesaid General Villa would abandon the command of the Northern Division and retire, the same as I, to private life, although I am still Governor of Coahuila, with the noblest object, on the part of you and myself, of avoiding the war which undoubtedly will come as a consequence of the insubordination of the Chief of the Northern Division.

If the Chiefs before whom I make my resignation in the convention of the first of October accept it, with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction I will retire to private life with a clear conscience of having discharged my duties as a citizen, of Governor of the State of Coahuila, of the First Chief of the Constitutional Army and of the charge of the executive power of the nation; but if the resignation might not be ac-

cepted, with the same rectitude and the same energy with which I fought an usurpation headed by General Huerta, I will combat the reaction which now appears to be headed by General Villa, an instrument, perhaps unconscious, of Porfirism and Cientificism conquered in the struggle, as was Pascual Orozco with respect to the reactionaries scattered upon the initiating of the insurrection headed by the illustrious martyr, Don Francisco I Madero.

It pleases me to meet and recognize the high sentiments with which you are inspired upon addressing the First Magistracy, and it is my ardent desire that they may meet with success;

but if notwithstanding those noble sentiments and those meritorious efforts the armed conflict is made inevitable, I hope that the same criterions of those to whom I address myself may recognize that their duty is to be on the side of dignity and honor and not of disloyalty.

It would be lamentable if those among you who have exposed their lives for their country should now lose them without honor in a new civil struggle, the consequences of which do not escape your penetration. I unite my votes to yours for the salvation of the Republic.

V. CARRANZA.

## Forces under Command of Don Venustiano Carranza.

Northwestern Division commanded General Obregon .....	22,000 men
Northeastern Division commanded by General Pablo Gonzalez with 35,000 "	"
First Central Division, General Natera .....	7,000 "
Second Central Division, Gen. J. Carranza .....	18,000 "
Forces of Jalisco, commanded by Gen. M. Dieguez .....	10,000 "
Forces of Durango State, com- manded by Gens. Arrieta and Carrillo .....	7,000 "
Total .....	99,000 "

Besides the said chiefs, there are with Mr. Carranza as subordinate leaders in the foregoing army, Generals Martin Triana, Candido Aguilar, Murguia, Francisco Cos, Gertrudis Sanchez, Lucio Blanco, Rafael Buehna, Juan Cabral, Antonio Flores, Vicente Salazar, Esteban Marquez, Antonio Medina, Federico Saucedo, Cesareo Castro, Jesus Castro, Agustin Castro,

Luis G. Caballero, Eulalio Gutierrez, Luis Gutierrez, Antonio I. Villarreal, Ramon G. Iturbe, Juan Dosal, Ernesto Santoscoy, Jesus Davila Sanchez, Jesus Sanchez Salgado, Juan Zua Zua, Eucarnacion Diaz, Julian Blanco, Cerecerio Estrada, Teodoro Elizondo, Pablo A. Garza, Jacinto Trevino, Alberto Carrera Torres, Francisco Carrera Torres, Romulo Figueroa.

### FORCES UNDER COMAND OF GENERAL VILLA.

The subordinate generals of Villa are as follows:—In Sonora, none; in Chihuahua, Tomás Urbina, Eugenio Aguirre Benavides, Orestes Pereyra, Felipe Angeles, Calixto Contreras, Raul Madero, Luis Herrera, Monclovio Herrera, Manuel Chao, Tomás Ornelas, Fidel Avila, José Isabel Robles and other leaders.

Forces under General Villa (North- ern Division) .....	30,000 men
Forces under Generals Luis and Monclovio Herrera (Recently joined the Carranza forces).....	5,000 "

## General Antonio I. Villarreal Addresses Zapata

Messrs. Gen. Don Antonio I. Villarreal and Lie. Don Luis Cabrera had been commissioned to treat with Gen. Zapata relative to his surrender of the forces under his command. The said gentlemen leaving the metropolis turned their footsteps toward Cuernavaca, Morelos and had the pleasure of an interview with the southern leader.

Unfortunately, however, Gen. Zapata was surrounded with two or three people, who in the

character of secretaries make it an almost impossible task for anyone to get a hearing with him in regard to the betterment of the popular cause.

One of these persons, Don Manuel Palafax, by his efforts prevented Gen. Don Emiliano Zapata from arriving at a satisfactory arrangement with the Presidential commission.

Gen. Villarreal in his anxiety to solve the problem before alluded to, has sent Mr. Zapata

the following letter:

Mexico, Sept. 5th, 1914.

General Emiliano Zapata:

Cuernavaca, Mor.

Esteemed General:

I had the pleasure of receiving the last letter, which you were kind enough to send through Mr. Reyes and in which you express the fact that you were to blame for the incident at Huixtla. I must advise you that this matter was not one of much importance, and it seems that they gave you exaggerated reports of the same. What we consider a grave affair, and was really a sad one regarding which we went to consult you with the object of arriving at an agreement between the revolutionary elements of the North and the South, was the unjustified conduct and belligerent attitude of your secretary, Mr. Manuel Palafox, in respect to whom I intend to speak in this letter with the most absolute and honest frankness; believing in this way that I may do you a good turn, not alone yourself personally but also the cause of the well-being of the public which we must all defend and also the peace of the nation.

If you critically analyze the happenings which occurred during our visit in this city, and to which I beg to call your attention, you will discover in a moment that all the difficulties, all the petty misunderstandings, all the threats of war, emanated principally from Mr. Palafox supported by Mr. Serratos, who also in our opinion is carrying on work right in your office that is very far from being patriotic and loyal.

It is always the case that when various people come together to settle great or small differences which may exist between them, it is understood if they work in good faith and the matters treated of are thoroughly talked over, that some points are ceded by one party and some by the other party; there must be reciprocity in the arrangements, and a definite conclusion reached regarding the subject under discussion. To continue, conferences held with regard to any matter must not be reduced to the party on one side imposing a settlement and the parties on the other side accepting the same without discussing the propositions for and against and coming to a mutual agreement.

Unfortunately, in our case this which was the rational and just method of procedure did not take place, because as you will remember

Mr. Palafox, who was the spokesman during the discussions almost prevented us from setting forth our side of the subject, and attempted to impose upon us certain conditions which would have to be accepted unconditionally as preliminaries before arriving at a resolution.

You will recollect that Mr. Palafox demanded as a first condition that as revolutionaries of the North we should accept without discussion the Plan of Ayala as the Supreme Law of the Republic, declaring that otherwise it would be impossible to treat of other matters.

This is in direct contradiction to your declarations, that you had no ambition for power; for in one of the clauses of the Plan of Ayala it states that General Pascual Orozco is recognized as leader of the revolution, and in case he is not able to discharge that task, you will be eligible; and as our complete submission to the Plan of Ayala is demanded it would intimate that we ought to place you in the position of the Supreme Chief of the Nation and in a more or less covert manner, you would be Provisional President of the Republic.

I believe in the sincerity of your words when you say that you have no ambition to command, that all you want is the settlement of the agrarian question and the economic betterment of the lower classes for which you have struggled so bravely. But back of this is Mr. Palafox, who has the ambition to rule, and who is desirous to see you raised to supreme power so that he may enjoy a privileged position in your office in his character of Secretary and Councillor. The same object animated Mr. Serratos more or less who also enjoys a certain amount of influence regarding your affairs, and doubtless awaits the auspicious moment of utilizing the same for his own benefit.

You will remember that Don Luis Cabrera and I set forth very clearly that we were authorized to accept essentially the Plan of Ayala; that is, the land question, the satisfaction of the popular needs, the betterment of the poor. We hereby declare that we agree fully with the principles set forth in the Plan of Ayala, and only desire that its form may be modified, and that there may be added to the gubernatorial program which we might draw up some clauses relative to the needs of the Northern States and the States in the center of the Republic, which are not in the

same condition as those of the south. Messrs. Palafox and Serratos refused to accept our cordial and just propositions, and insisted in a blind, unquestionable, despotic manner that the Plan of Ayala be accepted, without the change of a word or a comma.

Convinced that the influence of Messrs. Palafox and Serratos over you would make sterile all our efforts for coming to an agreement in the form which we proposed, we declined to start a discussion which only might have served to embitter our souls and to give rise to more ill-feeling that what we suffered in the course of our conversation with you. For our part we found ourselves in a visibly hostile atmosphere, and we lacked the liberty necessary for the free expression of our opinions.

When Mr. Sarabia spoke with you for the first time, he wrote me stating that your attitude was cordial and that he saw that your propositions of peace were sincere. On the occasion of our meeting with you our surprise was great to find you different from what Mr. Sarabia had represented. This may be easily explained for the first time that you spoke with Mr. Sarabia you were guided by your own impulses and by your good intentions, and the second time you were under the influence of the unhealthy machinations of Mr. Palafox.

The question then is reduced to the following facts: On our part the greatest and most sincere cordiality, the recognition of the justice of your cause, the acceptance of the principles of the plan of Ayala relating to the division of lands and the social betterment; on your part, good impulses, no ambition for power, and the exclusive desire for the welfare of the public; and on the part of Mr. Palafox and Mr. Serratos a spirit of intrigue that distorts the best intentions, ambitions for power in your hands with a view to thriving in your shadow, and a decided object of provoking war if their ambitions should not be satisfied.

Is not this sad, General Zapata? Is it not deeply to be lamented that all the patriotic efforts of honorable men shall go to pieces before the caprices of two intriguers? Is it not bitter and even shameful that a movement as great and unselfish as yours after four years of struggle should degenerate by reason

of an instrument of vile ambition and in an ignoble weapon for bringing war a second time on a country already exhausted in its struggle for independence?

I make a supreme appeal to your honor, to your patriotism, to your love of the people, who would be in the last analysis those who would suffer most from a war, that you take into consideration what we said when we were with you, and which I again repeat in this letter, that we may arrive at a good understanding with the revolutionaries of the north and the south, who in reality are brothers.

We know that we have done all in our power to arrive at a peaceful solution, and if at length it might be found impossible to reach it, it will not be through our fault.

God grant that to-morrow I may not have to tell you that through attending to the intrigues of an ambitious party more than to the dictates of patriotism, you may be to blame for the beginning of a war which would be thoroughly unjustifiable, which no one wants and which would do no one any good!

I believe that after what I have said it is only necessary to add the following: That while Palafox continues at your side enjoying the influence that he does, it will be impossible for us to return to see you at Cuernavaca, nor for us to send other representatives, for we consider that we would not have, as we did not, the necessary liberty to treat with frankness and amplitude the transcendental subject which is under our discussion.

We would be very thankful to know that you had resolved to act independently of your harmful counsellor; and in such a case we consider that it would be easy enough to arrive at a settlement.

In place of Mr. Palafox you should be able to consult your principal chiefs, who have struggled faithfully for the cause, and you will surely find among them better standards and better counsel than from your ancient secretary.

I know that the majority of your chieftains hold Mr. Palafox in scant esteem and do not care for him; and if they have not so express-

ed themselves to you it has been perhaps through lack of opportunity or excess of discipline. Now it would be convenient that you consult them regarding this matter.

I trust, Mr. General, in your good judgment and sense of right, to kindly bear in mind with a spirit of serenity and justice what we have set before you, and unite your efforts to ours

with a view to realizing the peace which our Republic needs so much, without lessening the agrarian ideals for which you have struggled for so long a time.

I am happy to sign myself,

Yours affectionate and loyal friend,

ANTONIO I. VILLARREAL.

# Convention of Generals in Mexico City.

(TELEGRAM)

Mexico City, October 5th, 1914.

Yesterday at 7 P. M. the First Chief of the Constitutional Army, vested with the Executive Authority, produced before the Assembly of Governors and Generals united in convention in the Chambers of Deputies, the following information: "Generals of the Constitutional Army, Governors of the States of the Union. Upon initiating the struggle for legality against the rebel dictatorship, I offered to call you to a solemn convention to be held in the Capital of the Republic, when it should be occupied by the Constitutional Army; and according to the Plan of Guadalupe, accepted by all of you, through which I might take upon myself the Executive Authority of the Nation, I am happy to-day to fulfill the promise I made you; in consequence, you will all discuss the political program for a provisional government of the Republic, and such matters of general interest as will lead the country to its realization of the ideals of justice and liberty, for which we have so valiantly struggled. During the campaign the Chiefs of the Constitutional Army with whom I spoke, including those of the Northern Division, agreed with me in that this convention should fix the date on which the election to re-establish the Constitutional order would be held, as the supreme goal of the legalist movement. Equally all the Chiefs of this army coincide with me in that the Provisional Government should institute the social and political reforms which will be considered in this Convention as of urgent public necessity, before the re-establishment of the Constitutional order; the social and political reforms about which I spoke to the principal Chiefs of the Army, indispensable to satisfy the aspirations of the public in its need for economic liberty, of political equality, and organic peace, are briefly enumerated in what I set forth herewith. The assurance of municipal liberty as a check and balance to the political power of the States, and as the principal doctrine of all democratic practices; the resolution of the agrarian problem through the division of the national lands, of the land which the government may buy from the great proprietors and that which may be expropriated for public profit. That the municipalities, for the public welfare, should expropriate, in all the settlements of more than 500 inhabitants, land for the building of schools,

markets and courts.

To compel all business concerns to pay salaries in cash, weekly if possible; to dictate dispositions concerning the limitations of working hours, Sunday rest, a workingman's compensation law and the betterment of the economic condition of the working class.

To estimate the value of property in our territory so as to be able to obtain an equitable taxation. To nullify all unconstitutional concessions, contracts and agreements. To reform taxation in a broad spirit of liberty, taking care not to hurt the industries of the country and to facilitate the importation of prime necessities not manufactured in the Republic, for the benefit of the middle and lower classes.

To reform the banking law with a view to the establishment of a national bank. To give marriage the character of a real civil law by permitting it to be consummated before a notary public, and not as at present when it is dependent of an unwarranted intervention of state functionaries and therefore, subject to political eventualities. Conjointly with this reform to permit absolute divorce by mutual consent of both parties.

At the approach of the date of the Convention I thought it my duty to dictate some dispositions necessary within the spirit of the revolution, such as the appraisement of real estate, the matter pertaining to the issue of thirty-five million pesos paper money, the necessity of drawing up an exact list of the expenses of public administration, of the Department of Public Instruction, and Justice in the Federal District and Territories of the Republic.

The intention of the Constitutional Army to offer in this Convention, unique in the history of Mexico, social and political reforms demanded by the nation, and the most expeditious means of restoring the Constitutional order broken by the treason and rebellion of an usurper; is on the point of being frustrated by the conduct of Gen. Francisco Villa, Chief of the Northern Division, who with serious threats prejudicial to our country only, refused to recognize me as First Chief of the Constitutional Army in charge of the Executive Power.

This attitude resulted in a petition signed by some generals under Villa and some civilians surrounding him in the manner of arbiters of the destinies of the nation, asking me as an act of

patriotism that I renounce as Chief of the Constitutional Army and the Executive Power of the Union in favor of an honorable, distinguished gentleman who naturally was the first one to refuse the offer of an armed group, representing as it does a pretorian stroke which if countenanced would revert us to the dark and turbulent epochs of our history, when as a consequence a great part of our territory was lost.

Therefore, I must explain to the nation, for the sake of historical accuracy, the reasons which have determined the preconceived and preparatory rebellious attitude of General Villa, which is nothing more than the work of the reaction instigated by the so-called científicos and by all those defeated by the triumphant revolution, and those who have been refused public posts on account of cowardice and ineptitude.

The Governor of the State of Sonora, José María Maytorena, bribing a part of the Constitutional forces in that State, seized Gen. Salvador Alvarado and in point of fact disclaimed me as First Chief of the Constitutional Army, and Head of the Executive Authority, under the pretext of pretended insults to the State sovereignty committed by Col. Elias Calles, Chief of the Constitutional Forces in the northern part of Sonora.

With the object of attempting to settle the difficulties resulting between Governor Maytorena and Col. Calles, I gave orders to Gen. Alvarado Obregon to go to Chihuahua and in company with General Villa to try to solve those problems. In the meantime, Maytorena advanced with his troops to Nogales and then, General Obregon, with the view of avoiding more shedding of blood, ordered Calles to abandon the aforementioned place, where Obregón and Villa arrived a short time afterward to treat with the rebel Government; it being agreed that General Hill should take command as a substitute of the forces of Col. Calles, and these troops should retire to Chihuahua, after which General Cabral would assume the Military Command in the State, and the forces of Maytorena should be under his orders.

Before the arrival of General Cabral in Sonora, Villa ordered Hill to retire with his troops to Casas Grandes, an order which this general did not obey owing to the fact that it did not emanate from his Chief, General Obregon. General Obregon retraced his steps to the Capital to give me an account of his mission, but a few days afterward left again for Chihuahua with the object of making an investigation of the problem in Sonora, and settling the conflict be-

tween the forces of General Calixto Contreras and Tomas Urbina, belonging to Villa's division, who presented themselves in Durango, arrayed in a hostile attitude against the Góvernor of the State, General Domingo Arrieta.

General Obregon had scarcely arrived at Chihuahua, when Villa commanded him to order the immediate departure of Hill for Casas Grandes. Gen. Obregon denied this request, before General Cabral should assume military command in Sonora. Differences resulted between both these leaders, and Villa tried to shoot Obregon, but the intervention of some other chiefs prevented his carrying out his plan. Villa held him as a prisoner for a short time, but with the object of concealing the matter, he gave a ball to General Obregon.

When these occurrences took place General Hill communicated to the Secretary of War the answer which he sent to a message from General Obregon, in which this chief ordered him to continue his march to Casas Grandes, and to which he refused obedience, knowing that General Obregon was in prison. Naturally, I approved of the conduct of General Hill, and told him that in the future he must not obey other orders than those of this First Magistracy.

Upon learning of this message I ordered that traffic to the north of Aguascalientes and between Torreon and Monterey should be suspended, and if the forces under Villa should advance, they were to destroy both railways; then Villa addressed me, declaring that he did not know to what to attribute such a determination; I told him, as was my duty, that before giving him an answer regarding the matter I desired him to make an explanation of his conduct with relation to General Obregon. In place of obeying, Villa refused to give the explanation which I had requested as his superior, sending me the following message, which I thought it my duty not to answer:

Chihuahua, Sept. 22d, 1914.

Mr. V. Carranza.

In answer to your message, I hereby dedare to you that General Obregon and other generals of this Division departed last night for the Capital with the object of discussing important matters relative to the general situation of the Republic, but in view of your proceedings which reveal a premeditated desire to place stumbling-blocks in the way of a satisfactory arrangement to all difficulties, and arrive at the peace which we so much desire, I have ordered his trip to be suspended, and detained him in Torreon. In consequ-

ence, I beg to advise you that this Division will not meet at the convention which you have called, and thereupon I declare that you are not recognized as the First Chief of the Republic, remaining at liberty to proceed as may suit my convenience.

The General-in-Chief, Francisco Villa."

Some generals solicited an interview with the Chiefs of the Northern Division to see if it were not possible to avoid an armed conflict, arising from the disavowal made by Villa of the authority which I represent, and their efforts have been directed so that this assembly, as soon as it may be completed by the Constitutional General who have not yet arrived, will be moved to the City of Aguascalientes there to celebrate the convention in place of holding it in this Capital, where I had already called it and where the said convention should really be verified.

With the intention of making known the details which General Obregon may render to me as the Executive Authority information in regard to the commissions they conferred upon him, I cannot admit for the honor of the Constitutional Army itself, which designated me as its First Chief, and to whose patriotism and self-denial is due the triumph of the Plan of Guadalupe, that a rebel group, an undisciplined minority, may try to impose their will on the majority of the Chiefs, which is the only authority that has the power to give me orders, and the only one I will yield obedience to.

If I have not tried to conquer this rebel Chieftain by force of arms it has been because prudence so demanded it; but if unfortunately the time might come when it would be impossible to longer tolerate a persistent and unjustified rebellion, the nation should know that the Constitutional Government can command more than one hundred thousand men, artillery, machine guns and war supplies to bring that

rebel Chieftain to order, and depends besides and principally, on the invincible force of the reason and justice which inspires the opinions of the level-headed citizen of the Republic to sustain the Government.

You conferred upon me the command of the army, you placed in my hands the Executive Power of the Nation: these two sacred trusts I cannot deliver honorably at the request of a group of Chieftains misguided in the execution of their duty and a few civilians to whom the country owed nothing in this struggle. I can only deliver over my authority, and I do deliver it at this moment, to the Chiefs here united. I desire your immediate resolution, declaring to you that from this time on I retire from the Convention, leaving you wholly free, and trusting that your decision may be inspired in the supreme welfare of the country.

V. CARRANZA.

Mr. Carranza was unanimously acclaimed. Upon his retirement, it was nearly one o'clock, the assembly entered shortly after into considerations and discussions regarding matters of general interest without referring to the resignation made from the positions of First Chief of the Constitutional Army, and the Head of the Executive Authority.

The point under discussion having been settled, the referred-to resignation came up for debate, and then, through unanimous vote and almost immediately, the Assembly turned to place in the hands of Mr. Carranza the Leadership of the Constitutional Army, and Head of the Executive. A commission of generals waited on Mr. Carranza after 1 P. M., and upon the return of Mr. Carranza to his seat in the Assembly, the authority for both those high positions was placed again in his hands.

ROQUE ESTRADA,

Private Secretary to V. Carranza.

N. B.—The Mexican Bureau of Information has no official connection with Mexican General Consulate in this city nor the Mexican Embassy in Washington, D. C.

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